

FEDERAL ELECTION COMMISSION

In the matter of : Hastert for Congress Committee
Dallas Ingemunson, Treasurer MUR No.: 5677

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COMPLAINT

1. Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington hereby brings this complaint before the Federal Election Commission ("FEC") seeking an immediate investigation and enforcement action against the Hastert for Congress Committee and Dallas Ingemunson for direct and serious violations of federal campaign finance law.

Complainant

2. Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington is a non-profit, non-partisan organization dedicated to ensuring accountability in public officials.

Respondents

3. The Hastert for Congress Committee ("Hastert for Congress") is the principal campaign committee of Speaker of the House Dennis Hastert (R-IL). The committee is registered under the Federal Election Campaign Act. 2 U.S.C. §433. Dallas Ingemunson is the treasurer of Hastert for Congress.

Factual Allegations

4. The September issue of *Vanity Fair* Magazine reports that in December 2001, an F.B.I. agent in Chicago, Joel Robertz asked F.B.I. translator Sibel Edmonds to review some wiretaps that had been generated by a counter-intelligence investigation that began in 1997. David Rose, An Inconvenient Patriot, *Vanity Fair*, page 281, September 2005 (attached as Exhibit A). Part of the investigation involved allegations of attempts to bribe Members of Congress. Id.

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5. Ms. Edmonds listened to more than 40 recordings supplied by Mr. Robertz. Id. Many involved an F.B.I. target at Chicago, Illinois's Turkish Consulate, as well as members of the American-Turkish Council and the Assembly of Turkish American Associations. Id.

6. According to some of the wiretaps, the F.B.I.'s targets had arranged for tens of thousands of dollars of campaign contributions to be sent to Rep. Hastert's campaign committee in small (i.e., less than \$200) checks that did not have to be itemized. Id. at 281.

7. Notably, Hastert for Congress's FEC filings indicate that in 2000 and 2001 the committee received a significant number of unitemized contributions. The Mid-Year report, covering the period January 1, 2001 through June 30, 2001, shows unitemized contributions of \$65,470.23. Hastert for Congress Committee FEC Form 3, Report of Receipts and Disbursements, page 3, filed October 24, 2002 (attached as Exhibit B). The Year-End report, covering the period July 1, 2001 through December 31, 2001, shows unitemized contributions in the amount of \$45,390.52. Hastert for Congress Committee FEC Form 3, Report of Receipts and Disbursements, page 3, filed October 24, 2002 (attached as Exhibit C). Thus, in 2001, Hastert for Congress received \$110,860.75 in unitemized contributions.

8. The reports for 2000 also show a large number of unitemized contributions. The Pre-Primary Election Report, covering the period from January 1, 2000 through March 1, 2000, shows unitemized contributions of \$7,825. Hastert for Congress Committee FEC Form 3, Report of Receipts and Disbursements, page 3, filed March 9, 2000 (attached as Exhibit D). The April 15th Quarterly Report, covering the period of March 2, 2000 through March 31, 2000 shows unitemized contributions of \$19,505. Hastert for Congress Committee FEC Form 3, Report of Receipts and Disbursements, page 3, filed June 27, 2001 (attached as Exhibit E). The July 15th Quarterly Report, covering the period April 1, 2000 through June 30, 2000, shows

unitemized contributions in the amount of \$14,738. Hastert for Congress Committee FEC Form 3, Report of Receipts and Disbursements, page 3, filed June 27, 2001 (attached as Exhibit F). The October 15th Quarterly Report, covering the period July 1, 2000 through September 30, 2000, shows unitemized contributions in the amount of \$22,795. Hastert for Congress Committee FEC Form 3, Report of Receipts and Disbursements, page 3, filed May 30, 2001 (attached as Exhibit G). The Post-General Election Report, covering the period October 19, 2000 through November 27, 2000, shows unitemized contributions in the amount of \$7,412. Hastert for Congress Committee FEC Form 3, Report of Receipts and Disbursements, page 3, filed June 6, 2001 (attached as Exhibit H). Thus, in 2000, Hastert for Congress received \$72,275 in unitemized contributions.

COUNT I

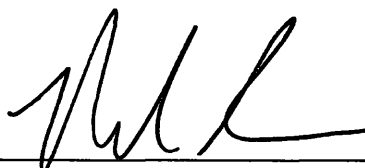
9. The Federal Election Campaign Act ("FECA") strictly prohibits foreign nationals from making political contributions and prohibits political committees from accepting campaign contributions from foreign nationals. 2 U.S.C. §441e(a):

10. If a committee receives a contribution of questionable legality, it must follow five procedures. First, within ten day's of the treasurer's receipt of the contribution, the treasurer must either return the contribution to the donor without depositing it or deposit it. 11 C.F.R. §103.3(b)(1). Second, if the committee chooses to deposit the contribution, it must ensure that the funds are not spent because they may have to be refunded. 11 C.F.R. §103.3(b)(4). Third, the committee must keep a written record noting the reason why a contribution may be prohibited and must include this information when reporting the receipt of the contribution. 11 C.F.R. §103.3(b)(5). Fourth, within 30 days of the treasurer's receipt of the contribution, the committee must make at least one written or oral request for evidence that the contribution is

legal. 11 C.F.R. §103.3(b)(1). Fifth, within the 30 day period, the committee must either confirm the legality of the contribution or refund the contribution. 11 C.F.R. §103.3(b)(1). See FEC, Campaign Guide for Congressional Candidates and Committees, page 18, April 1999.

11. If the Hastert for Congress received an unusually large number of contributions in amounts just under \$200 in a relatively condensed period of time, the treasurer's suspicions should have been raised, particularly if many of these checks appeared to be made out by individuals with foreign names. As a result, the treasurer should have followed the procedures outlined by the Commission in 11 C.F.R. §103.3(b) to discover whether, in fact, the campaign illegally received contributions from foreign nationals.

WHEREFORE, Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington requests that the Federal Election Commission conduct an investigation into whether or not Hastert for Congress accepted contributions from foreign nationals in violation of federal campaign finance laws, impose sanctions appropriate to these violations and take such further action as may be appropriate.



Melanie Sloan, Executive Director
Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in
Washington
11 Dupont Circle, N.W., 2nd Floor
Washington, D.C. 20036
(202) 588-5565

Verification

Citizens for Responsibility and Ethics in Washington, acting through Melanie Sloan, hereby verifies that the statements made in the attached Complaint are, upon information and belief, true.

Sworn pursuant to 18 U.S.C. § 1001.



Melanie Sloan

Sworn to and subscribed before me this 16th day of August, 2005.



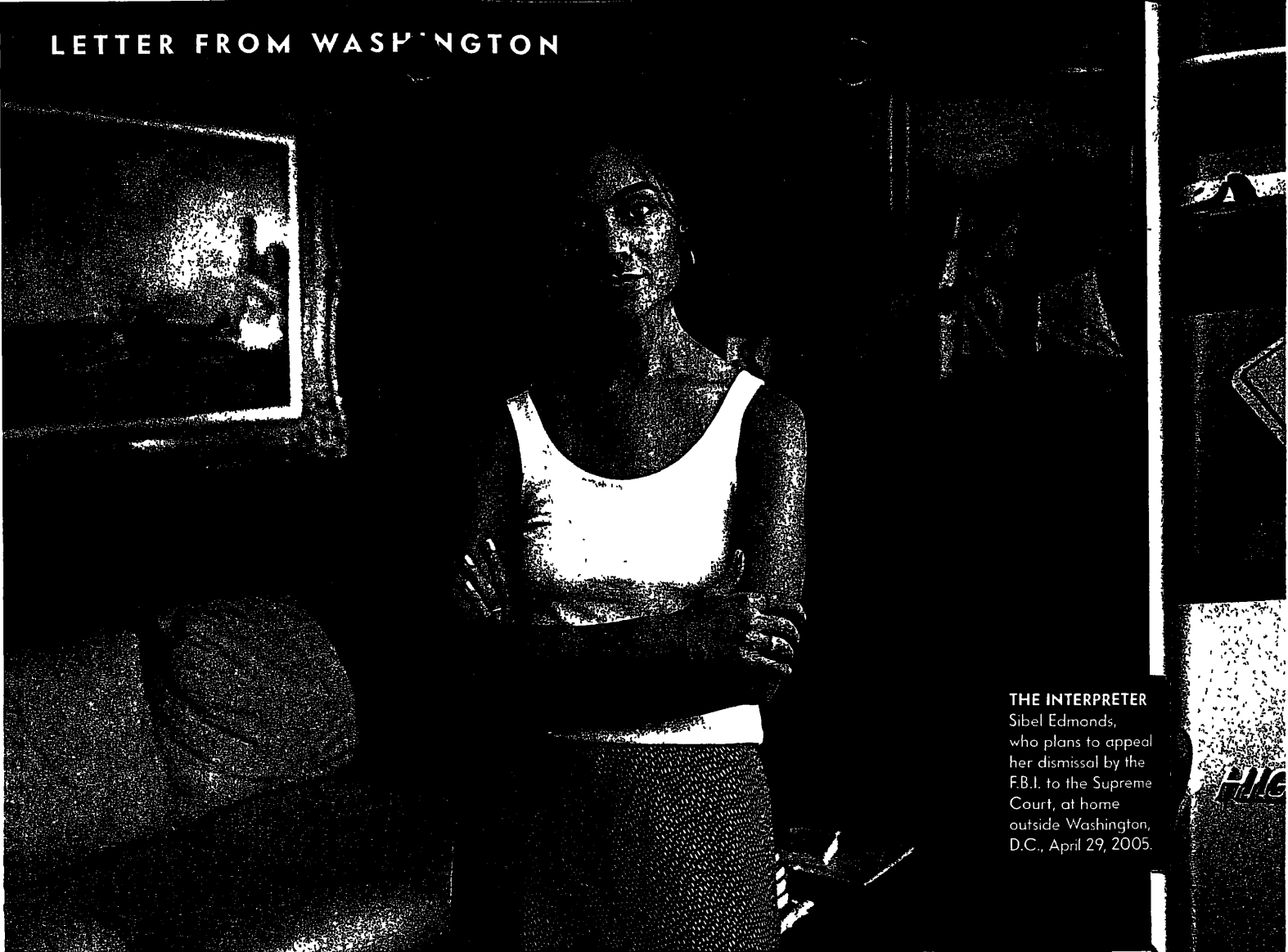
Notary Public

Blanca M. Clayton
Notary Public, District of Columbia
My Commission Expires 04-30-2007

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EXHIBIT A

26044132413



THE INTERPRETER
Sibel Edmonds, who plans to appeal her dismissal by the F.B.I. to the Supreme Court, at home outside Washington, D.C., April 29, 2005.

AN INCONVENIENT PATRIOT

Love of country led Sibel Edmonds to become a translator for the F.B.I. following 9/11. But everything changed when she accused a colleague of covering up illicit activity involving Turkish nationals. Fired after sounding the alarm, she's now fighting for the ideals that made her an American, and threatening some very powerful people

BY DAVID ROSE

In Washington, D.C., and its suburbs, December 2, 2001, was fine but cool, the start of the slide into winter after a spell of unseasonable warmth. At 10 o'clock that morning, Sibel and Matthew Edmonds were still in their pajamas, sipping coffee in the kitchen of their waterfront town house in Alexandria, Virginia, and looking forward to a well-deserved lazy Sunday.

Since mid-September, nine days after the 9/11 attacks, Sibel had been exploiting her fluency in Turkish, Farsi, and Azerbai-

jani as a translator at the F.B.I. It was arduous, demanding work, and Edmonds—who had two bachelor's degrees, was about to begin studying for a master's, and had plans for a doctorate—could have been considered overqualified. But as a naturalized Turkish-American, she saw the job as her patriotic duty.

The Edmondses' thoughts were turning to brunch when Matthew answered the telephone. The caller was a woman he barely knew—Melek Can Dickerson, who worked with Sibel at the F.B.I. "I'm in the area

with my husband and I'd love you to meet him," Dickerson said. "Is it O.K. if we come by?" Taken by surprise, Sibel and Matthew hurried to shower and dress. Their guests arrived 30 minutes later. Matthew, a big man with a fuzz of gray beard, who at 60 was nearly twice the age of his petite, vivacious wife, showed them into the kitchen. They sat at a round, faux-marble table while Sibel brewed tea.

Melek's husband, Douglas, a U.S. Air Force major who had spent several years as a military attaché in the Turkish capital

of Ankara, did most of the talking, Matthew recalls. "He was pretty outspoken, pretty outgoing—about meeting his wife in Turkey, and about his job. He was in weapons procurement." Like Matthew, he was older than his wife, who had been born about a year before Sibel.

According to Sibel, Douglas asked if she and Matthew were involved with the local Turkish community, and whether they were members of two of its organized groups—the American-Turkish Council (A.T.C.) and the Assembly of Turkish American Associations (A.T.A.A.). "He said the A.T.C. was a good organization to belong to," Matthew says. "It could help to ensure that we could retire early and live well, which was just what he and his wife planned to do. I said I was aware of the organization, but I thought you had to be in a relevant business in order to join."

"Then he pointed at Sibel and said, 'All you have to do is tell them who you work for and what you do and you will get in very quickly.'" Matthew could see that his wife was far from comfortable. "She tried to change the conversation to the weather and such-like." But the Dickersons, says Matthew, steered it back to what they called their "network of high-level friends." Some, they said, worked at the Turkish Embassy in Washington. "They said they even went shopping weekly for [one of them] at a Mediterranean market," Matthew says. "They used to take him special Turkish bread."

Before long, the Dickersons left. At the time, Matthew says, he found it "a strange conversation for the first time you meet a couple. Why would someone I'd never met say such things?"

Only Sibel knew just how strange. A large part of her work at the F.B.I. involved listening to the wiretapped conversations of people who were targets of counter-intelligence investigations. As she would later tell investigators from the Justice Department's Office of the Inspector General (O.I.G.) and the U.S. Congress, some of those targets were Turkish officials the Dickersons had described as high-level friends. In Sibel's view, the Dickersons had asked the Edmondses to befriend F.B.I. suspects. (In August 2002, Melek Can Dickerson called Sibel's allegations "preposterous, ludicrous and slanderous.")

Sibel also recalled hearing wiretaps indicating that Turkish Embassy targets frequently spoke to staff members at the A.T.C., one of the organizations the Dickersons allegedly wanted her and her husband to join. Sibel later told the O.I.G. she

assumed that the A.T.C.'s board—which is chaired by Brent Scowcroft, President George H. W. Bush's national-security adviser—knew nothing of the use to which it was being put. But the wiretaps suggested to her that the Washington office of the A.T.C. was being used as a front for criminal activity.

Sibel and Matthew stood at the window of their oak-paneled hallway and watched the Dickersons leave. Sibel's Sunday had been ruined.

Immediately and in the weeks that followed, Sibel Edmonds tried to persuade her bosses to investigate the Dickersons. There was more to her suspicions than their peculiar Sunday visit. According to documents filed by Edmonds's lawyers, Sibel believed Melek Can Dickerson had leaked information to one or more targets of an F.B.I. investigation, and had tried to prevent Edmonds from listening to wire-

what in the world is the government trying to hide?"

It may be more than another embarrassing security scandal. One counter-intelligence official familiar with Edmonds's case has told *Vanity Fair* that the F.B.I. opened an investigation into covert activity by Turkish nationals in the late 1990s. That inquiry found evidence, mainly via wiretaps, of attempts to corrupt senior American politicians in at least two major cities—Washington and Chicago. Toward the end of 2001, Edmonds was asked to translate some of the thousands of calls that had been recorded by this operation, some dating back to 1997.

Edmonds has given confidential testimony inside a secure Sensitive Compartmented Information Facility on several occasions to congressional staffers, to investigators from the O.I.G., and to staff from the 9/11 commission. Sources familiar with this testimony say that, in addition to her allegations about the Dickersons, she reported hearing Turk-

USING THE STATE-SECRETS PRIVILEGE IN THIS FASHION IS UNUSUAL, BEESON SAYS. "JUST WHAT IS THE GOVERNMENT TRYING TO HIDE?"

ish wiretap targets boast that they had a covert relationship with a very senior politician indeed—Dennis Hastert, Republican congressman from Illinois and Speaker of the House since 1999. The targets reportedly discussed giving Hastert tens of thousands of dollars in surreptitious payments in exchange for political favors and information. "The Dickersons," says one official familiar with the case, "are only the tip of the iceberg."

taps of F.B.I. targets herself. But instead of carrying out a thorough investigation of her allegations, at the end of March 2002 the F.B.I. fired Edmonds.

Edmonds is not the first avowed national-security whistle-blower to suffer retaliation at the hands of a government bureaucracy that feels threatened or embarrassed. But being fired is one thing. Edmonds has also been prevented from proceeding with her court challenge or even speaking with complete freedom about the case.

On top of the usual prohibition against disclosing classified information, the Bush administration has smothered her case beneath the all-encompassing blanket of the "state-secrets privilege"—a Draconian and rarely used legal weapon that allows the government, merely by asserting a risk to national security, to prevent the lawsuits. Edmonds has filed contesting her treatment from being heard in court at all. According to the Department of Justice, to allow Edmonds her day in court, even at a closed hearing attended only by personnel with full security clearance, "could reasonably be expected to cause serious damage to the foreign policy and national security of the United States."

Using the state-secrets privilege in this fashion is unusual, says Edmonds's attorney Ann Beeson, of the American Civil Liberties Union. "It also begs a question. Just

it's safe to say that Edmonds inherited her fearless obstinacy from her father, Rasim Deniz, who died in 2000. Born in the Tabriz region of northwestern Iran, many of whose natives speak Farsi (Persian), Turkish, and Azerbaijani, he was one of the Middle East's leading reconstructive surgeons, but his forthright liberal and secular opinions brought him into a series of conflicts with the local regimes. One of Sibel's earliest memories is of a search of her family's house in Tehran by members of SAVAK, the Shah's secret police, who were looking for left-wing books. Later, in 1981, came a terrifying evening after the Ayatollah Khomeini's Islamist revolution, when Sibel was 11. She was waiting in the car while her father went into a restaurant for takeout. By the time Deniz returned, his vehicle had been boxed in by government SUV's, and Sibel was surrounded by black-clad revolutionary

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guards, who announced they were taking her to jail because her headscarf was insufficiently modest

"My father showed his ID and asked them, 'Do you know who I am?'" Sibel says "He had been doing pro bono work in the slums of south Tehran for years, and now it was the height of the Iran-Iraq war. He told them, 'I have treated so many of your brothers. If you take my daughter, next time I have one in my operating room who needs an amputation at the wrist, I will cut his arm off at the shoulder.' They let me go."

It was time to get out. As soon as he could, Deniz abandoned his property and his post as head of the burn center at one of Tehran's most prestigious hospitals, and the family fled to Turkey

BORN FIGHTER

Sibel and her parents vacationing by the Caspian Sea in 1972, 10 years before they left Iran for Turkey.

When Sibel was 17, she wrote a paper for a high-school competition. Her chosen subject was Turkey's censorship laws, and why it was wrong to ban books and jail dissident writers. Her principal was outraged, she says, and asked her father to get her to write something else. Deniz refused, but the incident caused a family crisis. "My uncle was mayor of Istanbul, and suddenly my essay was being discussed at an emergency meeting of the whole Deniz tribe. My dad was the only one who supported what I'd done. That was the last straw for me. I decided to take a break and go to the United States. I came here and fell in love with a lot of things—freedom. Now I wonder: was it just an illusion?"

Sibel enrolled at a college in Maryland, where she studied English and hotel management; later, she received bachelor's degrees at George Washington University in criminal justice and psychology, and worked with juvenile offenders. In 1992, at age 22, she had married Matthew Edmonds, a divorced retail-technology consultant who had lived in Virginia all his life.

For a long time, they lived an idyllic, carefree life. They bought their house in Alexandria, and Sibel transformed it into an airy, spacious haven, with marble floors, a library, and breathtaking views across the Potomac River to Washington. Matthew had always wanted to visit Russia, and at Sibel's suggestion they spent three months in St. Petersburg, working with a children's hospital charity run by the cellist Mstislav Rostropovich. Sibel's family visited America often, and she and Mat-

thew spent their summers at a cottage they had bought in Bodrum, Turkey, on the Aegean coast.

"People said we wouldn't last two years," Sibel says. "And here we still are, nearly 13 years on. A lot of people who go through the kind of experiences I've had find they put a huge strain on their marriage. Matthew is my rock. I couldn't have done it without him."

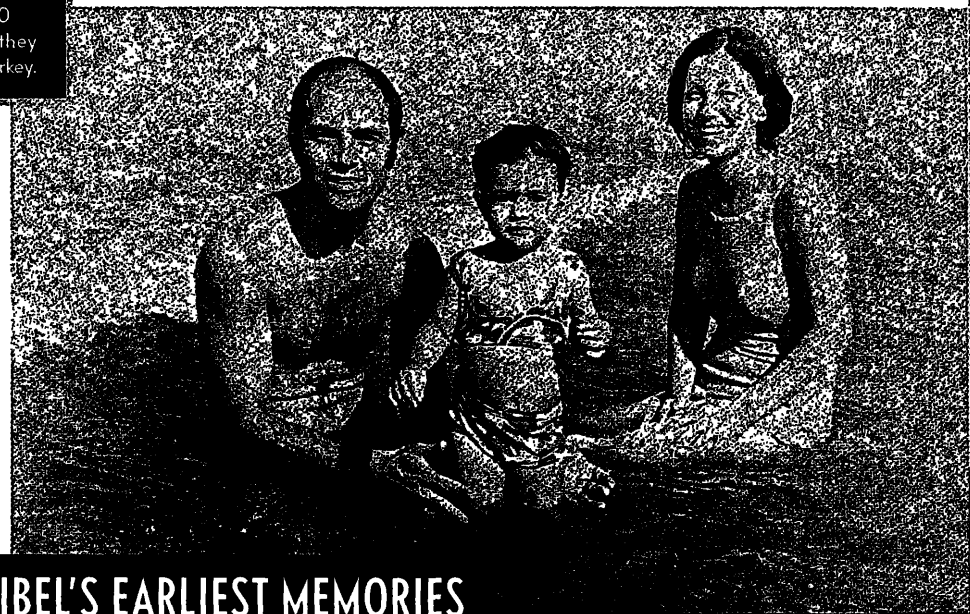
In 1978, when Sibel was eight and the Islamists' violent prelude to the Iranian revolution was just beginning, a bomb went off in a movie theater next to her elementary school. "I can remember sitting in a car, seeing the rescuers pulling charred bod-

ies and stumps out of the fire. Then, on September 11, to see this thing happening here, across the ocean—it brought it all back. They put out a call for translators, and I thought, Maybe I can help stop this from happening again."

should be marked 'not pertinent' and left alone. By the time this material reaches the agents and analysts, you've already decided what they're going to get." To get this right requires a broad background of cultural and political knowledge. "If you're simply a linguist, you won't be able to discern these differences."

She was surprised to discover that until her arrival the FBI had employed no Turkish-language specialists at all. In early October she was joined by a second Turkish translator, who had been hired despite his having failed language-proficiency tests.

Several weeks later, a third Turkish speaker joined the department: Melek Can



ONE OF SIBEL'S EARLIEST MEMORIES IS OF A SEARCH OF HER FAMILY'S HOUSE IN TEHRAN BY THE SHAH'S SECRET POLICE.

ies and stumps out of the fire. Then, on September 11, to see this thing happening here, across the ocean—it brought it all back. They put out a call for translators, and I thought, Maybe I can help stop this from happening again."

The translation department Edmonds joined was housed in a huge, L-shaped room in the FBI's Washington field office. Some 200 to 300 translators sat in this vast, open space, listening with headphones to digitally recorded wiretaps. The job carried heavy responsibilities. "You are the front line," Edmonds says. "You are the filter for every piece of intelligence which comes in foreign languages. It's down to you to decide what's important—'pertinent,' as the FBI calls it—and what's not. You decide what requires verbatim translation, what can be summarized, and what

Dickerson. In her application for the job, she wrote that she had not previously worked in America. In fact, however, she had spent two years as an intern at an organization that figured in many of the wiretaps—the American-Turkish Council.

Much later, after Edmonds was fired, the FBI gave briefings to the House and Senate. One source who was present says bureau officials admitted that Dickerson had concealed her history with the A.T.C., not only in writing but also when interviewed as part of her background security check. In addition, the officials conceded that Dickerson began a friendship at the A.T.C. with one of the FBI's targets. "They confirmed that when she got to the bureau she was supposed to be listening to his calls," says one congressional source. "To me, that was like asking a friend of a mobster to listen to him ordering hits. She

gave the document to Bryan on Monday, February 11. Early the following afternoon, the supervisor summoned Edmonds. Waiting in a nearby office were two other people, Feghali and Melek Can Dickerson. In front of them were Edmonds's translations of the wiretaps and her memo.

"Stephanie said that she'd taken my memo to the supervisory special agent, Tom Frieleds," Edmonds says. "He apparently wouldn't even look at it until Mike Feghali and Dickerson had seen it and been given a chance to comment. Stephanie said that, working for the government, there were certain things you didn't do, and criticizing your colleagues' work was one of them. She told me, 'Do you realize what this means? If you were right, the people who did the background checks would have to be investigated. The whole translation department could be shaken up.' Meanwhile, I was going to be investigated for a possible security breach—for putting classified information onto my home computer. I was told to go to the security department at three P.M."

Before Edmonds left, Dickerson had time to sidle over to her desk. According to Edmonds, she made what sounded like a threat. "Why are you doing this, Sibel? Why don't you just drop it? You know there could be serious consequences. Why put your family in Turkey in danger over this?"

Edmonds says that the FBI's response to her was beginning to shift from indifference to outright retaliation. On February 13, the day after her interview with the bureau security office, three agents came to her home and seized the computer she shared with her husband. "I hadn't had time to back up the data, and I told them that most of my business was on that computer," Matthew Edmonds says.

"An agent called the next morning," Matthew says. "He told me, 'Everything on your computer is destroyed, and we didn't back it up.' They were playing games. When I got the computer back, they had wiped everything. Four days later, I got a CD-ROM with it all backed up." A lifelong conservative Republican, Matthew was being shocked into changing his worldview. "I was so naïve. I mean, what do you do if you think your colleague might be a spy? You go to the FBI! I thought if Sibel's supervisor wasn't fixing this problem she should go to his superior, and so on up the chain. Someone would eventually fix it. I was never a cynical person. I am now."

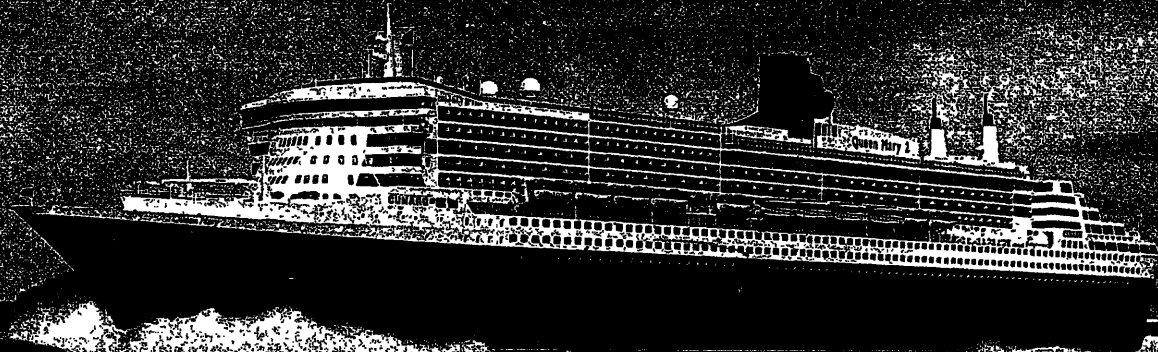
While the agents were examining the Edmondses' computer, Mike Feghali was writing a memo for his own managers, stating "there was no basis" for Sibel's allegations. A day earlier, an F.B.I. security officer had interviewed Dickerson. A report

issued by the O.I.G. in January 2005 states, "The Security Officer did not challenge the co-worker [Dickerson] with respect to any information the co-worker provided, although that information was not consistent with FBI records. In addition... he did not review other crucial F.B.I. records, which would have supported some of Edmonds' allegations." Instead, he treated her claims as "performance issues," and "seemed not to appreciate or investigate the allegation that a co-worker may have been committing espionage."

According to a congressional source, the fact that Edmonds was a mere contract linguist, rather than an agent, made her claims less palatable. "They seemed to be saying, 'We don't need someone like this making trouble,'" the source says. "Yet, to her credit, she really did go up through the chain of command, to her boss, his boss, and so on."

Edmonds reached the top of the language-section management on February 22, when she met with supervisory special agent Tom Frieleds, a gray-haired veteran who was approaching the end of a long bureau career. At first it seemed he was trying to set her mind at rest. "He told me, 'I just want to assure you that everything is fine, and as far as you're concerned, your work on this matter is done,'" Edmonds

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might have an allegiance problem. But they seemed not to get it... They blew off their friendship as 'just a social thing.' They told us, 'They had been colleagues at work, after all.'"

Shortly after the house visit from the Dickersons, Sibel conveyed her version of the event to her supervisor, Mike Feghali—first orally and then in writing. The "supervisory language specialist" responsible for linguists working in several Middle Eastern languages, Feghali is a Lebanese-American who had previously been an F.B.I. Arabic translator for many years. Edmonds says he told her not to worry.

Toward the end of December, Edmonds was absorbed in a translation when Dickerson approached her desk. She swiftly got to the point.

To monitor every call on every line at a large institution such as the Turkish Embassy in Washington would not be feasible. Inevitably, the F.B.I. listens more carefully

the material she translated. Early in the new year, 2002, Edmonds says, she discovered that Dennis Saccher, the F.B.I.'s special agent in charge of Turkish counter-intelligence, had developed his own, quite separate concerns about Dickerson.

On the morning of January 14, Sibel says, Saccher asked Edmonds into his cramped cubicle on the fifth floor. On his desk were printouts from the F.B.I. language-department database. They showed that on numerous occasions Dickerson had marked calls involving her friend and other counter-intelligence targets as "not pertinent," or had submitted only brief summaries stating that they contained nothing of interest. Some of these calls had a duration of more than 15 minutes. Saccher asked Edmonds why she was no longer working on these targets' conversations. She explained the new division of labor, and went on to tell him about the Dickersons' visit the previous month. Saccher was appalled, Edmonds says, telling her, "It sounds like espionage to me."

Saccher asked

legal payments. And a spokesperson for the Assembly of Turkish American Associations said that to suggest the group was involved with espionage or illegal payments is "ridiculous."

Another call allegedly discussed a payment to a Pentagon official, who seemed to be involved in weapons-procurement negotiations. Yet another implied that Turkish groups had been installing doctoral students at U.S. research institutions in order to acquire information about black-market nuclear weapons. In fact, much of what Edmonds reportedly heard seemed to concern not state espionage but criminal activity. There was talk, she told investigators, of laundering the profits of large-scale drug deals and of selling classified military technologies to the highest bidder.

Before entering the F.B.I. building for their Friday meeting with Saccher, Edmonds and Taskasen stood for a while on the sidewalk, smoking cigarettes. "Afterwards, we went directly to Saccher's office," Edmonds says. "We talked for a little while, and he said he'd see us downstairs for the meeting with Feghali a few minutes later, at nine A.M." They were barely out of the elevator when Feghali intercepted them. He didn't know they had just come from Saccher's office.

"Come on, we're going to start the meeting," he said. "By the way, Dennis Saccher can't be there. He's been sent out somewhere into the field." Later, Edmonds says, she called Saccher on the internal phone. "Why the hell did you cancel?" she asked. Bewildered, he told her that immediately after she and Taskasen had left his office Feghali phoned him, saying that the conference room was already in use, and that the meeting would have to be postponed.

Edmonds says Saccher also told her that he had been ordered not to touch the case by his own superiors, who called it a "can of worms." Despite his role as special agent in charge of Turkish counter-intelligence, he had even been forbidden to obtain copies of her translations. Saccher had two small children and a settled life in Washington. If he dared to complain, Edmonds says, he risked being assigned "to some fucked-up office in the land of tornadoes."

Instead, Edmonds was ushered into the windowless office of Feghali's colleague, translation-department supervisor Stephanie Bryan. Investigating possible espionage was not a task for which Bryan had been trained or equipped.

Bryan heard Edmonds out and told her to set down her allegations in a confidential memo. Edmonds says that Bryan approved of her writing it at home. Edmonds

gave the doc February 11 the supervising in a near ple, Feghali: front of them of the wiretap

"Stephanie memo to the Frieleds," Ed wouldn't eve li and Dick en a chance that, working certain thing ing your colle She told me means? If you the backgrouv investigated. Th could be sha ing to be inv breach—for j onto my hom the security c

Before Ec time to sidle Edmonds, sl threat. "Why don't you just be serious c family in Tur

"WHY ARE YOU DOING THIS, SIBEL?" EDMONDS SAYS DICKERSON ASKED. "WHY PUT YOUR FAMILY IN TURKEY IN DANGER OVER THIS?"

to the phones used by its targets, such as the Dickersons' purported friend. In the past, the assignment of lines to each translator had always been random. Edmonds might have found herself listening to a potentially significant conversation by a counter-intelligence target one minute and an innocuous discussion about some diplomatic party the next. Now, however, according to Edmonds, Dickerson suggested changing this system, so that each Turkish speaker would be permanently responsible for certain lines. She produced a list of names and numbers, together with her proposals for dividing them up. As Edmonds would later tell her F.B.I. bosses and congressional investigators, Dickerson had assigned the American-Turkish Council and three other "high-value" diplomatic targets, including her friend, to herself.

Edmonds found this arrangement very questionable. But she says that Dickerson spent a large part of that afternoon talking with Feghali inside his office. The next day he announced in an e-mail that he had decided to assign the Turkish wiretaps on exactly the basis recommended by Dickerson.

Like all the translators, Edmonds was effectively working with two, parallel lines of management: Feghali and the senior translation-department bosses above him, on the one hand, and, on the other, the investigators and agents who actually used

Edmonds and a colleague, Kevin Taskasen, to go back into the F.B.I.'s digital wiretap archive and listen to some of the calls that Dickerson had marked "not pertinent," and to re-translate as many as they could. Saccher suggested that they all meet with Feghali in a conference room on Friday, February 1. First, however, Edmonds and Taskasen should go to Saccher's office for a short pre-meeting—to review their findings and to discuss how to handle Feghali.

Edmonds had time to listen to numerous calls before the Friday meeting, and some of them sounded important. According to her later secure testimony, in one conversation, recorded shortly after Dickerson reserved the targets' calls for herself, a Turkish official spoke directly to a U.S. State Department staffer. They agreed that the State Department staffer would send a representative at an appointed time to the American-Turkish Council office, at 1111 14th Street NW, where he would be given \$7,000 in cash. "She told us she'd heard mention of exchanges of information, dead drops—that kind of thing," a congressional source says. "It was mostly money in exchange for secrets." (A spokesperson for the ATC denies that the organization has ever been involved in espionage or il-

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ANSATLAN

says. "I told him, 'No, it's not fine. My family is worried about possible threats to their safety in Turkey' His face went through a transformation. He warned me that these issues were classified at the highest level and must not be disclosed to anyone. He started to interrogate me: Who had I told? He said if it was anyone unauthorized he could have me arrested."

Edmonds's meeting with Frields on the 22nd was probably her last chance to save her job. The inspector general's 2005 report disclosed, "Immediately after the meeting, [Frields] began to explore whether the F.B.I. had the option to cease using Edmonds

They didn't eat or drink—just sat, staring at Sibel, the whole time we were there." Modified cell phones, Sibel knew, are commonly used by bureau agents as a means of making covert recordings.

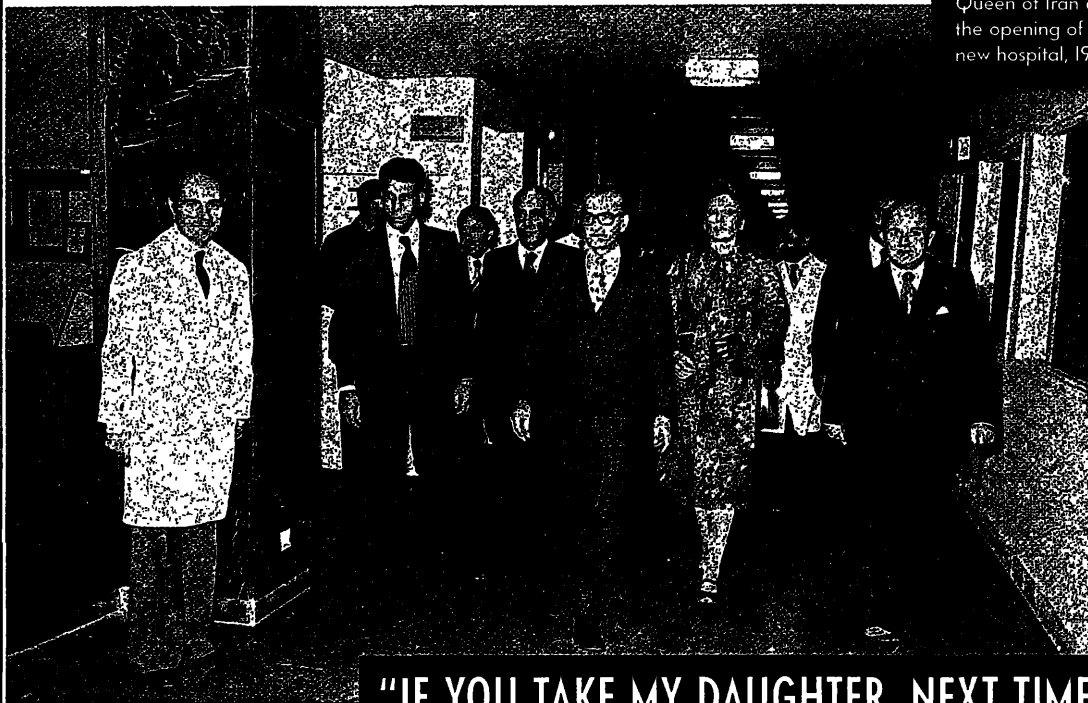
That afternoon, Sibel wrote to two official bodies with powers to investigate the F.B.I.—the Justice Department's internal-affairs division, known as the Office of Professional Responsibility, and its independent watchdog, the O.I.G. She went on to send faxes to the Senate Intelligence Committee and Senators Charles Grassley, Republican from Iowa, and Patrick Leahy, Democrat from Vermont,

asked were vague and nonspecific. "The Polygraph Unit Chief admitted that questions directly on point could have been asked but were not." Nevertheless, then and for a long time afterward, the F.B.I. "continued to rely on the [Dickerson] polygraph as support for its position that Edmonds' allegations were unfounded."

Dickerson's polygraph test, however unsatisfactory, seems to have sealed Edmonds's

fate at the F.B.I. The following afternoon, she was asked to wait in Stephanie Bryan's office. "Feghali saw me sitting there and leaned across the doorway," Edmonds says. "He tapped his watch and said, 'In less than an hour you will be fired, you whore.'" A few minutes later, she was summoned to a meeting with Frields. They were joined by Bryan and George Stukenbroeker, the chief of personnel security and the man in charge of investigating her case. Edmonds had violated every security rule in the book, Stukenbroeker said. A hulking security guard arrived to help escort her from the building. Edmonds asked if she could return to her desk to retrieve some photos, including shots of her late father of which she had no copies. Bryan refused, saying, "You'll never set foot in the F.B.I. again." Bryan promised to forward

GOOD DOCTOR
Sibel's father, Dr. Rasim Deniz (far left), greeting the Shah and Queen of Iran at the opening of a new hospital, 1977.



"IF YOU TAKE MY DAUGHTER, NEXT TIME ONE [OF YOUR BROTHERS] NEEDS AN AMPUTATION AT THE WRIST, I WILL CUT HIS ARM OFF."

as a contract linguist."

Four days later the bureau's contracting unit told him, "If it was determined that [she] was unsuitable, the F.B.I. would have sufficient reason to terminate her contract."

Stymied by Frields, Edmonds tried to go still higher, and on March 7 she was granted an audience with James Caruso, the F.B.I.'s deputy assistant director for counterterrorism and counter-intelligence. Edmonds says he listened politely for more than an hour but took no notes and asked no questions. Afterward, Matthew picked her up and they drove to the Capital Grille for an early lunch. It was only 11:30 and the restaurant was still empty, but as the Edmondses began to study their menus, they saw two men in suits pull up outside in an F.B.I.-issue S.U.V. They came inside and sat down at the next table.

"They just sat and stared at Sibel," Matthew says. "They took out their cell phones, opened them, and put them on the table

both of whom sit on the Senate Judiciary Committee, to say that she had found evidence of possible national-security breaches.

On March 8, Sibel appeared at a dingy little office in Washington's Chinatown, where she was polygraphed. According to the 2005 inspector general's report, the purpose of this examination was to discover whether she had made unauthorized disclosures of classified information. "She was not deceptive in her answers," the O.I.G. reported.

Dickerson was polygraphed two weeks later, on March 21, and she too was deemed to have passed. But, according to an official cited in the report, the questions she was

them, says Edmonds, who never got the photos back. Edmonds looked at Frields. "You are only making your wrongdoing worse, and my case stronger. I will see you very soon," she told him. According to Edmonds, Frields replied, "Soon maybe, but it will be in jail. I'll see you in jail." (When interviewed by the O.I.G., Frields and another witness denied his making this comment.)

Matthew was waiting outside. "I'm not a crybaby," Sibel says. "But as I got into my husband's car that afternoon I was in floods, shaking."

As soon as she had returned home from the February meeting where Dickerson allegedly cautioned her not to endanger her family in Turkey, Sibel called her mother and sister in Istanbul, even though it was the middle of the night there. Sibel

is the oldest of three sisters. The youngest was studying in America and living with the Edmondses in Alexandria, but the middle sister—whose name Edmonds wishes to protect—was enjoying a successful career at an international travel company based in Istanbul. The 29-year-old was also engaged to be married. Within days of receiving Sibel's call, she flew with her mother to Washington.

Early in April, Sibel and Matthew were having lunch in their favorite Thai restaurant in Old Town Alexandria—a precious chance, with their house now fully occupied by Sibel's family, to share a private moment together. "My cell phone rang," Sibel says. "It was my middle sister. She said something really bad had happened and I must come back at once."

The sister's Istanbul neighbor had just phoned, saying that two policemen had knocked on her door, asking for the sister's whereabouts. They would not disclose the reason, saying only that it was an "intelligence matter." They also left a document.

and submitted a claim for damages for the violation of Edmonds's constitutional rights. By August he was ready to depose Douglas and Melek Can Dickerson. But before their scheduled deposition, the couple abruptly left the country. Douglas had been assigned to an air-force job in Belgium. Virgil Magee, a U.S. Air Force spokesman in Belgium, confirms that Dickerson remains on active duty in Europe, but refuses to say exactly where.

That fall, Attorney General John Ashcroft tried to wipe out Edmonds's legal action by invoking the state-secrets privilege. This recourse, derived from English common law, has never been the subject of any congressional vote or statute. Normally, says Ann Beeson of the ACLU, it is used by the government when it wants to resist the legal "discovery" in court of a specific piece of evidence that it fears might harm national security if publicized. But in Edmonds's case Ashcroft argued that the very subject of her lawsuit was a state

It was the absolute low point. "I tried to find another firm," she says, "but as soon as I mentioned the state-secrets privilege, it was like, 'Turn around, go back, and by the way the clock is running at \$450 an hour.' I must have been turned away by 20 firms."

The Dickersons, the Justice Department, and the FBI, and its relevant personnel declined to comment for this article. In August 2002, Melek Can Dickerson told the *Chicago Tribune*, "both the F.B.I. and the Department of Justice have conducted separate investigations of [Edmonds's] claims... They fired her and, interestingly, they continued my contract."

In September 2002, Colonel James Worth of the Office of the Air Force Inspector General said that, in response to a letter from Edmonds, there had been a "complete and thorough review of Major [Douglas] Dickerson's relationship with the American-Turkish Council" that found "no evidence of any deviation from the scope of his duties." Edmonds says she was not interviewed by those conducting the review.

HER SISTER'S ASYLUM APPLICATION STATED THAT SIBEL WOULD NOW BE CONSIDERED "A SPY AND A TRAITOR TO TURKEY UNDER TURKISH LAW."

Sent by Tevfik Asıcı of the Ataköy Branch Police Station and dated April 11, it was addressed to Sibel's sister and read, "For an important issue your deposition/interrogation is required. If you do not report to the station within 5 days, between 09 00 and 17.00, as is required by Turkish law CMK.132, you will be taken/arrested by force."

In July 2002, with a written recommendation from Senator Grassley, Sibel's sister requested political asylum in the United States. Her application statement cited the threat allegedly made by Dickerson, adding that Sibel would now be considered "a spy and a traitor to Turkey under Turkish law, and the Turkish police will use me to get at her. Turkish police are known for using cruelty and torture during interrogation, subjects are kept without advice to family members and often disappear with no trace." Estranged from Sibel, the sister remains in America, unable to go home.

Edmonds did what numerous avowed whistle-blowers had done before: she appealed to Congress, and she got a lawyer—David Colapinto of the Washington firm Kohn, Kohn & Colapinto, which advertises itself on its Web site as specializing in cases of this kind. He filed suit under the Freedom of Information Act for full disclosure of what had happened inside the bureau,

secret. To air her claims in front of federal judges would jeopardize national security.

Thus, Beeson says, had distinct advantages for the FBI and the Department of Justice: it meant they did not have to contest the merits of her claims. Moreover, the substance of the arguments they used to justify this level of secrecy was and is secret itself. The full version of Ashcroft's declaration invoking the privilege, filed on October 18, 2002, was classified, and in public the case for blocking Edmonds's action rested on the mere assertion that it would be damaging to proceed. Later, in 2004, the law firm Motley Rice sought to depose her for a pending case on behalf of the families of 9/11 victims. Immediately, Ashcroft asserted the privilege again. Motley Rice submitted a list of questions it wanted to ask Edmonds, almost all of which were prohibited. Among them: "When and where were you born?" "What languages do you speak?" and "Where did you go to school?"

Edmonds still wanted to fight, and to challenge Ashcroft in court. But over the next few months, the relationship with her lawyers began to suffer. "Let's face it, talking on the DOJ is no joke, especially in Washington," Edmonds says.

Edmonds's treatment by the FBI seems to fit two baleful patterns: the first is the bureau's refusal to address potentially disastrous internal-security flaws; the second is a general tendency among national-security agencies to retaliate against whistle-blowers.

Amid the lush greenery of his parents' garden in Plattsmouth, Nebraska, former FBI senior intelligence-operations specialist John Cole describes how these institutional inclinations combined to destroy his career. Now 44, Cole joined the FBI in 1985. By the late 1990s, he was running undercover operations in the Washington area, focusing on counterterrorism and counter-intelligence. Later, while also playing a key role in the 9/11 investigation, he became the FBI's national counter-intelligence program manager for India, Afghanistan, and Pakistan.

Early in the fall of 2001, Cole was asked to assess whether a woman who had applied to work as a translator of Urdu, Pakistan's national language, might pose a risk to security. "The personnel security officer said she thought there was something that didn't seem right," Cole says. "I went through the file and it stuck out a mile: she was the daughter of a retired Pakistani general who had been their military attaché in Washington." He adds that, to his knowledge, "Every single military attaché they've ever assigned has been a known intelligence officer."

After September 11, this association looked especially risky. The Pakistani intelligence service had trained and supported the Taliban in Afghanistan, and still

contained elements who were far from happy with President Pervez Musharraf's pro-American policies. Cole gave his findings to the security officer "Well done," she said "You've found it."

A week later, she called Cole again, to say that the woman had started work that morning with a top-secret security clearance. FBI director Robert Mueller had promised Congress that the bureau would hire lots of new Middle Eastern linguists, and normal procedures had been short-circuited as a result. As of July 2005, the woman was still a bureau translator. Sibel Edmonds says she remembers her well—as the leader of a group that pressed for separate restrooms for Muslims.

Cole says the incident was only one of several that caused him to doubt the quality and security of the F.B.I.'s counterterrorism efforts, and, like Edmonds, he says he tried to fix the problems he saw by going up the chain of command. Getting rid of an agent of his stature was a lot more difficult than firing a contract linguist. Cole says the retaliation began when, after years of glowing reports, his annual appraisal found his work in one area to be "minimally acceptable." Next, he was placed under investigation by the Office of Professional Responsibility, first on a charge that he had lied about a personal loan on a routine background check, and then, after he took his case to Congress, on the same grounds used against Edmonds—that he had disclosed classified information without authorization. Finally, he was demoted to menial roles: "They literally had me doing the xeroxing." Bitterly disillusioned, he says, he resigned in March 2004.

"According to the terms of our employment, whistle-blowing is an obligation," Cole says. "We sign a piece of paper every year saying we will report any mismanagement or evidence of a possible crime. But the management's shtick is that if you draw attention to the bureau's shortcomings you're disgracing it."

Cole is one of about 50 current and former members of the F.B.I., C.I.A., National Security Agency, and other bodies who have made contact recently with Sibel Edmonds. Another is Mike German, one of the bravest and most successful counterterrorism agents in the bureau's history, who penetrated a neo-Nazi gang in Los Angeles and a militia group in Seattle and brought them to justice.

German made his bed of nails in 2002, when he was asked to get involved in an in-

vestigation into a suspected cell of Islamic terrorists. "I came down and reviewed the case, and it was a complete mess," he says. "There were violations of F.B.I. policy and violations of the law. As someone who had been through successful terrorism prosecutions, I knew you couldn't afford to make mistakes."

Like Cole, German says he thought himself obliged to report what was going wrong, not to penalize other agents but in the hope of putting it right. "I thought the bureau would do the right thing that the case would get back on track, and we'd get the opportunity to take action against the bad guys involved." Instead, he says, he faced the familiar litany of escalating retaliation—including an internal investigation of his own work on the terrorist-cell case. "Bear in mind that only a handful of people have ever infiltrated terrorist groups," German says. "You'd think that after 9/11

bureau agent. It prompted Tice to send a classified e-mail to the D.I.A. security section, commenting that the Leung case showed that the F.B.I. was "incompetent." The implication was that the D.I.A. could prove its competence by fully investigating the junior colleague.

Tice, a big, powerful man with a forthright manner, has to pause to control his emotions when he describes what happened as a consequence. "I was sent for an emergency psychiatric evaluation. I took all the computer tests and passed them with flying colors. But then the shrink says he believes I'm unbalanced. Later he said I'm suffering from 'paranoid ideation.'" He was examined by an independent psychiatrist, who "found no evidence of mental disorder." But he had already been denied access to secure places at the N.S.A. As a result, this highly commended technical-espionage expert was put to work in the N.S.A.'s motor pool, "wiping snow off cars, vacuuming them, and driv-

ONE NAME APPARENTLY STOOD OUT— A MAN THE TURKISH CALLERS REFERRED TO AS "DENNY BOY." IT WAS HOUSE SPEAKER DENNIS HASTERT.

they might have been interested in that. But word came back to me that I'd never get a counterterrorist case again." He resigned from the bureau in June 2004.

As I talked to whistle-blowers, I had the impression that those treated the worst were among the brightest and best. There could be no clearer example than Russ Tice, an 18-year intelligence veteran who has worked for the Pentagon's Defense Intelligence Agency (D.I.A.) and America's eavesdroppers, the National Security Agency. "I dealt with the super-sensitive stuff," he says. "I obviously can't talk about it, but I had operational roles in both Afghanistan and Iraq."

It was at the D.I.A. in the spring of 2001 that he wrote a report setting down his suspicions about a junior colleague, a Chinese-American who Tice says was living a lavish lifestyle beyond her apparent means. Although she was supposed to be working on a doctorate, he noticed her repeatedly in the office, late at night, reading classified material on an agency computer. "It's not like I obsessed over the issue," Tice says. "I did my job, and then 9/11 happened, and I was a very busy boy."

He moved to the N.S.A. toward the end of 2002. The trigger for his downfall the following April was the arrest of Katrina Leung, the F.B.I. informant accused of spying for China while having an affair with a

ing people around. People looked at me like I had bubonic plague." (The D.I.A. did not respond to a request for comment, and an N.S.A. spokesperson said the agency does not discuss personnel matters.)

After about eight months of this purgatory, apparently an attempt to persuade him to resign, he was placed on "administrative leave." Like other whistle-blowers, he tried and failed to get his agency's leadership to redress his treatment. In August 2004, Tice wrote letters to members of the House and Senate. Six days later, the N.S.A. began the formal process which would lead to his getting fired, and to having his clearance revoked permanently. "What happened to me was total Stalin-era tactics," he says. "Everyone I know or ever worked with says I'm perfectly sane. Yet I just don't know what to do next. I've been in intelligence all my life, but without a security clearance, I can't practice my trade."

Echoing Cole and German, one of the congressional staffers who heard Edmonds's secure testimony likens the F.B.I. to a family, "and you don't take your problems outside it. They think they're the best law-enforcement agency in the world, that they're beyond criticism and beyond reproach." To an outside observer that ethos alone might explain the use of the state-secrets privilege against Edmonds. But, the

staffer adds, some of the wiretaps she said she translated "mentioned government officials." Here may lie an entirely different dimension to her case.

Vanity Fair has established that around the time the Dickersons visited the Edmondses, in December 2001, Joel Robertz, an FBI special agent in Chicago, contacted Sibel and asked her to review some wiretaps. Some were several years old, others more recent, all had been generated by a counter-intelligence investigation that had its start in 1997. "It began in D.C.," says an FBI counter-intelligence official who is familiar with the case file. But "it became apparent that Chicago was actually the center of what was going on."

Its subject was explosive, what sounded like attempts to bribe elected members of Congress, both Democrat and Republican. "There was pressure within the bureau for a special prosecutor to be appointed and take the case on," the official says. Instead, his colleagues were told to alter the thrust of their investigation—

Hastert's campaign funds in small checks. Under Federal Election Commission rules, donations of less than \$200 are not required to be itemized in public filings.

Hastert himself was never heard in the

Committee amounted to \$483,000. In contrast, un-itemized contributions in the same period to the committee run on behalf of the House majority leader, Tom DeLay, Republican of Texas, were only \$99,000. An analysis of the filings of four other senior Republicans shows that only one, Clay Shaw, of Florida, declared a higher total in un-itemized donations than Hastert over the same period: \$552,000. The other three declared far less. Energy and Commerce Committee chairman Joe Barton, of Texas, claimed \$265,000, Armed Services Committee chairman Duncan Hunter, of California, got \$212,000; and Ways and Means Committee chairman Bill Thomas, of California, recorded \$110,000.

Edmonds reportedly added that the recordings also contained repeated references to Hastert's flip-flop, in the fall of 2000, over an issue which remains of intense concern to the Turkish government—the continuing campaign to have Congress designate the killings of Armenians in Turkey between 1915 and 1923 a genocide. For many years, attempts had been made to get the House to pass a genocide resolution, but they never got anywhere until August 2000, when

Hastert, as Speaker, announced that he would give it his backing and see that it received a full House

vote. He had a clear political reason, as analysts noted at the time: a California Republican incumbent, locked in a tight congressional race, was looking to win over his district's large Armenian community. Thanks to Hastert, the resolution, vehemently opposed by the Turks, passed the International Relations Committee by a large majority. Then, on October 19, minutes before the full House vote, Hastert withdrew it.

At the time, he explained his decision by saying that he had received a letter from President Clinton arguing that the genocide resolution, if passed, would harm U.S. interests. Again, the reported content of the Chicago wiretaps may well have been sheer bravado, and there is no evidence that any payment was ever made to Hastert or his campaign. Nevertheless, a senior official at the Turkish Consulate is said to have claimed in one recording that the price for Hastert to withdraw the resolution would have been at least \$500,000.

Hastert's spokesman says the congress-

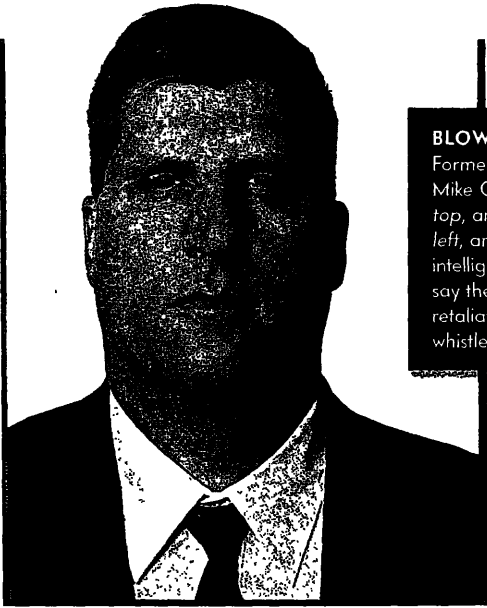


**"WHAT HAPPENED TO ME WAS TOTAL
STALIN-ERA TACTICS," TICE SAYS.
"I JUST DON'T KNOW WHAT TO DO NEXT."**

away from elected politicians and toward appointed officials. "This is the reason why Ashcroft reacted to Sibel in such an extreme fashion," he says. "It was to keep this from coming out."

In her secure testimony, Edmonds disclosed some of what she recalled hearing. In all, says a source who was present, she managed to listen to more than 40 of the Chicago recordings supplied by Robertz. Many involved an FBI target at the city's large Turkish Consulate, as well as members of the American-Turkish Council and the Assembly of Turkish American Associations.

Some of the calls reportedly contained what sounded like references to large-scale drug shipments and other crimes. To a person who knew nothing about their context, the details were confusing, and it wasn't always clear what might be significant. One name, however, apparently stood out—a man the Turkish callers often referred to by the nickname "Denny boy." It was the Republican congressman from Illinois and Speaker of the House, Dennis Hastert. According to some of the wiretaps, the FBI's targets had arranged for tens of thousands of dollars to be paid to



BLOWN OFF

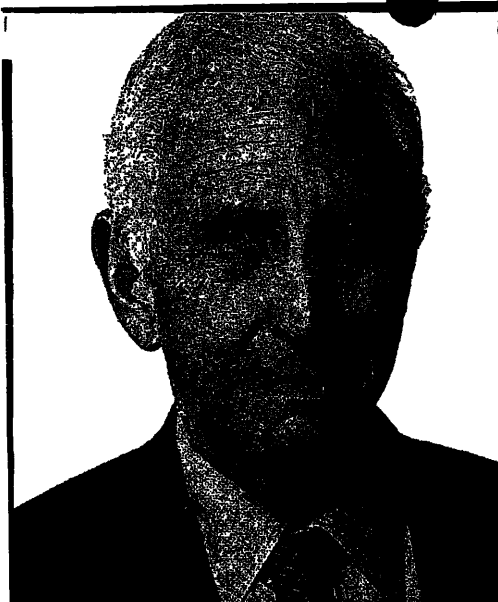
Former F.B.I. agent Mike German, top, and Russ Tice, left, an 18-year intelligence veteran, say they faced retaliation for whistle-blowing.

recordings, Edmonds told investigators, and it is possible that the claims of covert payments were hollow boasts. Nevertheless, an examination of Hastert's federal filings shows that the level of un-itemized payments his campaigns received over many years was relatively high. Between April 1996 and December 2002, un-itemized personal donations to the Hastert for Congress

PHOTOGRAPHS BY HENRY LEUTWYLER FOR DETAILS SEE CREDITS PAGE

man withdrew the genocide resolution only because of the approach from Clinton, "and to insinuate anything else just doesn't make any sense." He adds that Hastert has no affiliation with the A.T.C. or other groups reportedly mentioned in the wiretaps: "He does not know these organizations." Hastert is "unaware of Turkish interests making donations," the spokesman says, and his staff has "not seen any pattern of donors with foreign names."

For more than two years after Edmonds was fired, the Office of the Inspector General's inquiry ground on. At last, in July 2004, its report was completed—and promptly labeled classified at the behest of the F.B.I. It took months of further pressure before a redacted, unclassified version was finally issued, in Janu-



"AS WE DESCRIBED THROUGHOUT OUR REPORT, MANY OF [EDMONDS'S] ALLEGATIONS HAD BASES IN FACT," THE O.I.G. STATED.

ary 2005. It seemed to provide stunning vindication of Edmonds's credibility.

"Many of Edmonds' core allegations relating to the co-worker [Melek Can Dickerson] were supported by either documentary evidence or witnesses," the report said. "We believe that the F.B.I. should have investigated the allegations more thoroughly."

The F.B.I. had justified firing Edmonds on the grounds that she had a "disruptive effect," the report went on. However, "this disruption related primarily to Edmonds' aggressive pursuit of her allegations of misconduct, which the F.B.I. did not believe were supported and which it did not adequately investigate. In fact, as we described throughout our report, many of her allegations had bases in fact," the report read. "We believe that the F.B.I. did not take them seriously enough, and that her allegations were, in fact, the most significant factor in the F.B.I.'s decision to terminate her services."

Meanwhile, Edmonds had new lawyers: the A.C.L.U.'s Ann Beeson, who is leading the challenge to the state-secrets privilege, and Mark Zaid, a private attorney who specializes in national-security issues. Zaid has filed a \$10 million tort suit, citing the threats to Edmonds's family, her inability to look after her real-estate and business interests in Turkey, and a series of articles in the Turkish press that have vilified her.



In July 2004, a federal district court had ruled in favor of the government's use of the state-secrets privilege. Like Ashcroft's declaration, its opinion contained no specific facts. Next came a bizarre hearing in the D.C. appeals court in April 2005. The room was cleared of reporters while Beeson spoke for 15 minutes. Then Beeson and Edmonds were also expelled to make way for the Department of Justice's lawyers, who addressed the judges in secret. Two weeks later, the court rejected Edmonds's appeal, without expanding on the district court's opinion. At press time, she was set

to file a brief with the U.S. Supreme Court. If the court agrees to take the case, the government's reasons for its actions may finally be forced into the open, legal experts say. The Supreme Court has never allowed secret arguments.

A week after the April appeal hearing, Edmonds gathered more than 30 whistle-blowers from the F.B.I., C.I.A., National Security Agency, Department of Homeland Security, and other agencies to brief staffers from the House and Senate. Among the whistle-blowers were Daniel Ellsberg, who leaked the Pentagon Papers to *The New York Times* in 1971, and Coleen Rowley, the F.B.I. agent from Minneapolis who complained that Washington ignored

local agents who in August 2001 had raised concerns about a flight student named Zacarias Moussaoui, who has since admitted to being an al-Qaeda terrorist.

Many of those present had unearthed apparent breaches of national security, many said their careers had been wrecked as a result. At a press conference after the briefings, Congressman Edward Markey, Democrat of Massachusetts, praised Edmonds and her colleagues as "national heroes," pledging that he would introduce a bill to make it a crime for any agency manager to retaliate against such individuals. Afterward, the whistle-blowers mungled

over hors d'oeuvres and explored their common ground and experiences. By July, they were working to formalize their association as a not-for-profit campaign group, the National Security Whistleblowers Coalition. "When they took on Sibel," says Mike German, who is now the coalition's congressional liaison, "they made the wrong woman mad."

"I'm going to keep pushing this as long as I can, but I'm not going to get obsessional," Edmonds says. "There's other things I want to do with my life. But the day the Iranians tried to arrest me, my father told me, 'Sibel, you live your life once. How do you choose to live?' According to your principles, or in fear?" I have never forgotten those words. □

TRUTH TELLERS

Daniel Ellsberg, top, leaked the Pentagon Papers in 1971. Coleen Rowley, above, accused the F.B.I. of ignoring its agents' concerns about Zacarias Moussaoui.

EXHIBIT B

26044132424

**FEC
FORM 3****REPORT OF RECEIPTS
AND DISBURSEMENTS**

For An Authorized Committee

Office Use Only

1 NAME OF COMMITTEE (in full) **USE FEC MAILING LABEL OR TYPE OR PRINT** Example: If typing, type over the lines

Hastert for Congress Committee

ADDRESS (number and street)

P. O. Box 625

Check if different
than previously
reported (ACC)

Batavia

IL

60510

2. FEC IDENTIFICATION NUMBER

CITY

STATE

ZIP CODE

STATE DISTRICT

C00208080

3 IS THIS
REPORTNEW
(N)

OR

X

AMENDED
(A)

IL

14

4. TYPE OF REPORT (Choose One)

(a) Quarterly Reports.

(b) 12-Day PRE-Election Report for the

Primary (12P)

General (12G)

Runoff (12R)

April 15 Quarterly Report (Q1)

Convention (12C)

Special (12S)

July 15 Quarterly Report (Q2)

October 15 Quarterly Report (Q3)

Election on

in the
State of

January 31 Year-End Report (YE)

(c) 30-Day POST-Election Report for the

X July 31 Mid-Year Report
(Non-election Year Only) (MY)

General (30G)

Runoff (30R)

Special (30S)

Termination Report (TER)

Election on

in the
State of

5. Covering Period

01

01

2001

through

06

30

2001

I certify that I have examined this Report and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct and complete

Type or Print Name of Treasurer

Dallas Ingemunson

Signature of Treasurer

Electronically Filed by Dallas Ingemunson

Date

10

24

2002

NOTE: Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing this Report to the penalties of 2 U S C 437g

Office
Use
Only**FEC FORM 3**
(Revised 1/2001)

26044132425

DETAILED SUMMARY PAGE
of Receipts

FEC Form 3 (Revised 1/2001)

Page 3

Write or Type Committee Name
Hastert for Congress Committee

Report Covering the Period From: M M D J Y C C C To: V V U J Y Y Y Y
0 1 0 1 2 0 0 1 0 6 3 0 2 0 0 1

I. RECEIPTS	COLUMN A Total This Period	COLUMN B Election Cycle-to-Date
11. CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) FROM:		
(a) Individuals/Persons Other Than Political Committees	329805 00	
(i) Itemized (use Schedule A) . . .	65470 23	
(ii) Unitemized		
(iii) TOTAL of contributions	395275 23	402150.23
from individuals		
(b) Political Party Committees. . .	0.00	0 00
(c) Other Political Committees	329031 00	337908 50
(such as PACS)		
(d) The Candidate	0 00	0 00
(e) TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS		
(other than loans)	724306 23	740058 73
(add Lines 11(a)(ii) (b), (c) and (d))		
12 TRANSFERS FROM OTHER	0 00	0.00
AUTHORIZED COMMITTEES...		
13 LOANS		
(a) Made or Guaranteed by the	0.00	0 00
Candidate.....		
(b) All Other Loans	0 00	0 00
(c) TOTAL LOANS	0 00	0.00
(add Lines 13(a) and (b)) ...		
14 OFFSETS TO OPERATING		
EXPENDITURES	53849.82	53949.82
(Refunds, Rebates, etc) ...		
15 OTHER RECEIPTS	6825.04	9086 59
(Dividends, Interest etc)		
16 TOTAL RECEIPTS (add Lines		
11(e) 12, 13(c), 14 and 15)	784981 09	803095 14
(Carry Total to Line 24, page 4).		

26044132426

26044132427

EXHIBIT C

**FEC
FORM 3****REPORT OF RECEIPTS
AND DISBURSEMENTS**

For An Authorized Committee

Office Use Only

1 NAME OF COMMITTEE (in full) **USE FEC MAILING LABEL OR TYPE OR PRINT** Example: If typing, type over the lines

Hastert for Congress Committee

ADDRESS (number and street) P O Box 825

Check if different than previously reported (ACC) Batavia IL 60510

2 FEC IDENTIFICATION NUMBER C00208080 CITY STATE ZIP CODE STATE DISTRICT

3 IS THIS REPORT NEW (N) OR X AMENDED (A) IL 14

4. TYPE OF REPORT (Choose One)

(a) Quarterly Reports: (b) 12-Day PRE-Election Report for the.

April 15 Quarterly Report (Q1) Primary (12P) General (12G) Runoff (12R)

July 15 Quarterly Report (Q2) Convention (12C) Special (12S)

October 15 Quarterly Report (Q3) Election on in the State of

X January 31 Year-End Report (YE) (c) 30-Day POST-Election Report for the.

July 31 Mid-Year Report (Non-election Year Only) (MY) General (30G) Runoff (30R) Special (30S)

Termination Report (TER) Election on in the State of

5 Covering Period 07 01 2001 through 12 31 2001

I certify that I have examined this Report and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct and complete

Type or Print Name of Treasurer Dallas Ingemunson

Signature of Treasurer Electronically Filed by Dallas Ingemunson Date 10 24 2002

NOTE Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing this Report to the penalties of 2 U S C 437g

Office
Use
Only**FEC FORM 3**
Revised 1/2001

26044132428

DETAILED SUMMARY PAGE
of Receipts

FEC Form 3 (Revised 1/2001)

Page 3

Write or Type Committee Name
Hasbani for Congress Committee

Report Covering the Period: From: M M D J Y C C C To: V V U J Y Y Y Y
0 7 0 1 2 0 0 1 1 2 3 1 2 0 0 1

I. RECEIPTS	COLUMN A Total This Period	COLUMN B Election Cycle-to-Date
11 CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) FROM:		
(a) Individuals/Persons Other Than Political Committees	360680 00	
(i) Itemized (use Schedule A)	45390 52	
(ii) Unitemized		
(iii) TOTAL of contributions from individuals.. . . .	406070 52	808220 75
(b) Political Party Committees	0 00	0 00
(c) Other Political Committees (such as PACS)	199658 56	537567 06
(d) The Candidate	0.00	0 00
(e) TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) (add Lines 11(a)(ii) (b), (c) and (d))	605729.08	1345787 81
12 TRANSFERS FROM OTHER AUTHORIZED COMMITTEES	0.00	0 00
13 LOANS		
(a) Made or Guaranteed by the Candidate	0 00	0 00
(b) All Other Loans	0.00	0 00
(c) TOTAL LOANS (add Lines 13(a) and (b)).....	0.00	0 00
14. OFFSETS TO OPERATING EXPENDITURES (Refunds, Rebates, etc.)	2420.92	56370.74
15 OTHER RECEIPTS (Dividends, Interest, etc.)	10205 01	19291.60
16 TOTAL RECEIPTS (add Lines 11(e) 12, 13(c), 14 and 15) (Carry Total to Line 24, page 4)	618355 01	1421450.15

26044132429

26044132430

EXHIBIT D

REPORT OF RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS

For An Authorized Committee
(Summary Page)

1. NAME OF COMMITTEE (in full)

Hastert for Congress Committee

RECEIVED
FEDERAL ELECTION
COMMISSION MAIL ROOM

ADDRESS (number and street) ☐ Check if different than previously reported.
P. O. Box 625, 15 E. Wilson

2. FEC IDENTIFICATION NUMBER: 29
C00208080

CITY, STATE and ZIP CODE
Batavia, IL 60510

STATE/DISTRICT

3. IS THIS REPORT AN AMENDMENT?

☐ YES ☒ NO

4. TYPE OF REPORT

☐ April 15 Quarterly Report

☒ Twelfth day report preceding

Primary

(Type of Election)

☐ July 15 Quarterly Report

election on 03/21/2000

In the State of IL

☐ October 15 Quarterly Report

☐ Thirtieth day report following the General Election on

☐ January 31 Year End Report

In the State of

☐ July 31 Mid-Year Report (Non-election Year Only)

☐ Termination Report

This report contains activity for

☒ Primary Election

☐ General Election

☐ Special Election

☐ Runoff Election

SUMMARY

5.	Covering Period 01/01/2000 through 03/01/2000	COLUMN A This Period	COLUMN B Calendar Year-to-date
6.	Net Contributions (other than loans)		
	(a) Total Contributions (other than loans) (from Line 11(a))	\$107094.23	\$107094.23
	(b) Total Contribution Refunds (From Line 20(d))	\$0.00	\$0.00
	(c) Net Contributions (other than loans) (subtract Line 6(b) from 6(a))	\$107094.23	\$107094.23
7.	Net Operating Expenditures		
	(a) Total Operating Expenditures (from Line 17)	\$61459.70	\$61459.70
	(b) Total Offsets to Operating Expenditures (from Line 14)	\$0.00	\$0.00
	(c) Net Operating Expenditures (Subtract Line 7(b) from 7(a))	\$61459.70	\$61459.70
8.	Cash on Hand at Close of Reporting Period (from Line 27)	\$869256.59	
9.	Debits and Obligations Owed TO the Committee (Itemize all on Schedule C and/or Schedule D)	\$0.00	
10.	Debits and Obligations Owed BY the Committee (Itemize all on Schedule C and/or Schedule D)	\$0.00	

For further information:
Federal Election Commission
909 E Street NW
Washington, DC 20463
Toll Free 800-424-9530
Local 202-219-3420

I certify that I have examined this Report and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct and complete.

Type of Print Name of Treasurer

LISA POST, Asst. Treasurer

Signature of Treasurer

Lisa Post

Date

3-8-00

NOTE: Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing this Report to penalties of 2 U.S.C. §437g

FEC FORM 3
(Revised 4/97)

26044132431

Detailed Summary Page
of Receipts and Disbursements
(Page 2, FEC FORM 3)

Name of Committee (In Full) Hastert for Congress Committee		Report Covering the Period: From: 01/01/2000 To: 03/01/2000	
I. RECEIPTS		Column A Total This Period	Column B Calendar Year-To-Date
11. CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) FROM:			
(a) Individuals/Persons Other Than Political Committees			
(i) Itemized (Use Schedule A)		\$74325.00	
(ii) Unitemized		\$7825.00	
(iii) Total of contributions from individual		\$82150.00	\$82150.00
(b) Political Party Committees		\$0.00	\$0.00
(c) Other Political Committees (such as PACs)		\$24844.23	\$24844.23
(d) The Candidate		\$0.00	\$0.00
(e) TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) (add 11(a)(iii), (b), (c) and (d))		\$107094.23	\$107094.23
12. TRANSFERS FROM OTHER AUTHORIZED COMMITTEES		\$0.00	\$0.00
13. LOANS			
(a) Made or Guaranteed by the Candidate		\$0.00	\$0.00
(b) All Other Loans		\$0.00	\$0.00
(c) TOTAL LOANS (add 13(a) and (b))		\$0.00	\$0.00
14. OFFSETS TO OPERATING EXPENDITURES (Refunds, Rebates, etc.)		\$0.00	\$0.00
15. OTHER RECEIPTS (Dividends, Interest, etc.)		\$2786.55	\$2786.55
16. TOTAL RECEIPTS (add 11(e), 12, 13(c), 14 and 15)		\$109880.78	\$109880.78
II. DISBURSEMENTS			
17. OPERATING EXPENDITURES		\$81459.70	\$81459.70
18. TRANSFERS TO OTHER AUTHORIZED COMMITTEES		\$0.00	\$0.00
19. LOAN REPAYMENTS:			
(a) Of Loans Made or Guaranteed by the Candidate		\$0.00	\$0.00
(b) Of All Other Loans		\$0.00	\$0.00
(c) TOTAL LOAN REPAYMENTS (add 19(a) and (b))		\$0.00	\$0.00
20. REFUNDS OF CONTRIBUTIONS TO:			
(a) Individuals/Persons Other Than Political Committees		\$0.00	\$0.00
(b) Political Party Committees		\$0.00	\$0.00
(c) Other Political Committees (such as PACs)		\$0.00	\$0.00
(d) TOTAL CONTRIBUTION REFUNDS (add 20(a), (b) and (c))		\$0.00	\$0.00
21. OTHER DISBURSEMENTS		\$6225.00	\$6225.00
22. TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS (add 17, 18, 19(c), 20(d) and 21)		\$87684.70	\$87684.70
III. CASH SUMMARY			
23. CASH ON HAND AT BEGINNING OF REPORTING PERIOD			\$627080.61
24. TOTAL RECEIPTS THIS PERIOD (from Line 16)			\$109880.78
25. SUBTOTAL (add Line 23 and Line 24)			\$736961.29
26. TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS THIS PERIOD (from Line 22)			\$87684.70
27. CASH ON HAND AT CLOSE OF THE REPORTING PERIOD (subtract Line 26 from 25)			\$649276.59

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EXHIBIT E

26044132433

**FEC
FORM 3****REPORT OF RECEIPTS
AND DISBURSEMENTS**

For An Authorized Committee

Office Use Only

1 NAME OF COMMITTEE (In full) **USE FEC MAILING LABEL OR TYPE OR PRINT** Example: If typing, type over the lines

Hastart for Congress Committee

ADDRESS (number and street)

P. O. Box 825, 15 E. Wilson St.

Check if different
than previously
reported (ACC)

P. O. Box 825, 15 E. Wilson St.

Batavia

IL

80510

2. FEC IDENTIFICATION NUMBER

CITY

STATE

ZIP CODE

STATE DISTRICT

C00208090

3. IS THIS
REPORTNEW
(N)

OR

AMENDED
(A)

IL

14

4. TYPE OF REPORT (Choose One)

(a) Quarterly Reports.



April 15 Quarterly Report (Q1)



July 15 Quarterly Report (Q2)



October 15 Quarterly Report (Q3)



January 31 Year-End Report (YE)

July 31 Mid-Year Report
(Non-election Year Only) (MY)

Termination Report (TER)

(b) 12-Day PRE-Election Report for the:



Primary (12P)



General (12G)



Runoff (12R)



Convention (12C)



Special (12S)

Election on

in the
State of

(c) 30-Day POST-Election Report for the:



General (30G)



Runoff (30R)



Special (30S)

Election on

in the
State of

5. Covering Period

03

02

2000

through

03

31

2000

I certify that I have examined this Report and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct and complete.

Type or Print Name of Treasurer

Lisa Post

Signature of Treasurer

Date

06

27

2001

NOTE: Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing this Report to the penalties of 2 U.S.C. 437g

Office
Use
Only**FEC FORM 3**
(Revised 8/2000)

26044132434

DETAILED SUMMARY PAGE
of Receipts

FEC Form 3 (Revised 9/2000)

Page 3

Write or Type Committee Name
Hastert for Congress Committee

Report Covering the Period

From:

MM
03

DD
02

YYYYYY
2000

To:

MM
03

DD
31

YYYYYY
2000

I. RECEIPTS

COLUMN A
Total This Period

COLUMN B
Election Cycle-to-Date

11 CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) FROM:

- (a) Individuals/Persons Other Than
Political Committees
(i) Itemized (use Schedule A)

32825.00

(ii) Unitemized

19505.00

(iii) TOTAL of contributions

52330.00

from Individuals

134480.00

0.00

0.00

(b) Political Party Committees

(c) Other Political Committees
(such as PACs)

35868.40

60812.83

0.00

0.00

(d) The Candidate

(e) TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS
(other than loans)
(add Lines 11(a)(i), (b), (c), and (d))

88198.40

195292.63

**12. TRANSFERS FROM OTHER
AUTHORIZED COMMITTEES**

0.00

0.00

13 LOANS

(a) Made or Guaranteed by the
Candidate

0.00

0.00

(b) All Other Loans

0.00

0.00

(c) TOTAL LOANS
(add Lines 13(a) and (b))

0.00

0.00

**14. OFFSETS TO OPERATING
EXPENDITURES
(Refunds, Rebates, etc.)**

0.00

0.00

**15. OTHER RECEIPTS
(Dividends, Interest, etc.)**

1590.18

4901.46

**16. TOTAL RECEIPTS (add Lines
11(e), 12, 13(c), 14, and 15)
(Carry Total to Line 24, page 4)**

89788.58

200194.09

26044132435

EXHIBIT F

26044132436

**FEC
FORM 3****REPORT OF RECEIPTS
AND DISBURSEMENTS**

For An Authorized Committee

Office Use Only

1. NAME OF
COMMITTEE (in full)USE FEC MAILING LABEL
OR TYPE OR PRINTExample: If typing, type
over the lines

Hastert for Congress Committee

ADDRESS (number and street)

P. O. Box 625, 15 E. Wilson St.

Check if different
than previously
reported. (ACC)

P. O. Box 625, 15 E. Wilson St.

Batavia

IL

60510

2. FEC IDENTIFICATION NUMBER

CITY

STATE

ZIP CODE

STATE DISTRICT

C00208090

3. IS THIS
REPORTNEW
(N)

OR

AMENDED
(A)

IL

14

4. TYPE OF REPORT (Choose One)

(a) Quarterly Reports.



April 15 Quarterly Report (Q1)



July 15 Quarterly Report (Q2)



October 15 Quarterly Report (Q3)



January 31 Year-End Report (YE)

July 31 Mid-Year Report
(Non-election Year Only) (MY)

Termination Report (TER)

(b) 12-Day PRE-Election Report for the:



Primary (12P)



General (12G)



Runoff (12R)



Convention (12C)



Special (12S)

Election on

in the
State of

(c) 30-Day POST-Election Report for the:



General (30G)



Runoff (30R)



Special (30S)

Election on

in the
State of

5. Covering Period

04

01

2000

through

06

30

2000

I certify that I have examined this Report and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct and complete.

Type or Print Name of Treasurer

Lisa Post

Signature of Treasurer

Electronically Filed by Lisa Post

Date

06

27

2001

NOTE: Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing this Report to the penalties of 2 U.S.C. 437g.

Office
Use
Only**FEC FORM 3**
(Revised 1/2001)

26044132437

DETAILED SUMMARY PAGE of Receipts

FEC Form 3 (Revised 1/2001)

Page 3

Write or Type Committee Name
Hastert for Congress Committee

Report Covering the Period

From

MM DD YYYY
04 01 2000

To

MM DD YYYY
08 30 2000

I. RECEIPTS	COLUMN A Total This Period	COLUMN B Election Cycle-to-Date
11. CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) FROM:		
(a) Individuals/Persons Other Than Political Committees	41150.00	
(i) Itemized (use Schedule A)	14738.00	
(ii) Unitemized		
(ii) TOTAL of contributions from individuals. ▶	55888.00	180368.00
(b) Political Party Committees.	0.00	0.00
(c) Other Political Committees (such as PACS)	192618.23	253428.86
(d) The Candidate.	0.00	0.00
(e) TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) (add Lines 11(a)(i), (b), (c), and (d))	248504.23	443796.86
12. TRANSFERS FROM OTHER AUTHORIZED COMMITTEES	0.00	0.00
13. LOANS		
(a) Made or Guaranteed by the Candidate.	0.00	0.00
(b) All Other Loans	0.00	0.00
(c) TOTAL LOANS (add Lines 13(a) and (b))	0.00	0.00
14. OFFSETS TO OPERATING EXPENDITURES (Refunds, Rebates, etc.)	0.00	0.00
15. OTHER RECEIPTS (Dividends, Interest, etc.)	8906.75	11808.21
16. TOTAL RECEIPTS (add Lines 11(e), 12, 13(c), 14, and 15) (Carry Total to Line 24, page 4) ▶	255410.88	455805.07

26044132438

26044132439

EXHIBIT G

**FEC
FORM 3****REPORT OF RECEIPTS
AND DISBURSEMENTS**

For An Authorized Committee

Office Use Only

1. NAME OF COMMITTEE (in full) **USE FEC MAILING LABEL OR TYPE OR PRINT** Example if typing, type over the lines

Hastert for Congress Committee

ADDRESS (number and street)

P. O. Box 825, 15 E Wilson St



Check if different than previously reported (ADD)

P. O. Box 825, 15 E Wilson St

Batavia

IL

60510

2. FEC IDENTIFICATION NUMBER

CITY

STATE

ZIP CODE

STATE DISTRICT

CD0208090

3. IS THIS REPORT



NEW (N)

OR



AMENDED (A)

IL

14

4. TYPE OF REPORT (Choose One)

(a) Quarterly Reports



April 15 Quarterly Report (Q1)



July 15 Quarterly Report (Q2)



October 15 Quarterly Report (Q3)



January 31 Year-End Report (YE)



July 31 Mid-Year Report (Non-election Year Only) (MY)



Termination Report (TER)

(b) 12-Day PRE-Election Report for the



Primary (12P)



General (12G)



Runoff (12R)



Convention (12C)



Special (12S)

Election on

in the State of

(c) 30-Day POST-Election Report for the



General (30G)



Runoff (30R)



Special (30S)

Election on

in the State of

5. Covering Period

07

01

2000

through

09

30

2000

I certify that I have examined this Report and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct and complete

Type or Print Name of Treasurer Lisa Post

Signature of Treasurer

Date

05

30

2001

NOTE: Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing this Report to the penalties of 2 U S C 437g.

Office
Use
Only**FEC FORM 3**
(Revised 8/2000)

20004132440

DETAILED SUMMARY PAGE of Receipts

FEC Form 3 (Revised 9/2000)

Page 3

Write or Type Committee Name
Hastert for Congress Committee

Report Covering the Period.

From:

MM DD YYYY
07 01 2000

To:

MM DD YYYY
09 30 2000

I. RECEIPTS	COLUMN A Total This Period	COLUMN B Election Cycle-to-Date
11 CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) FROM:		
(a) Individuals/Persons Other Than Political Committees	141295.00	
(i) Itemized (use Schedule A).....	22795.00	
(ii) Unitemized		
(iii) TOTAL of contributions	164090.00	354458.00
from Individuals	0.00	0.00
(b) Political Party Committees		
(c) Other Political Committees (such as PACS).....	195434.10	448862.96
	0.00	0.00
(d) The Candidate		
(e) TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) (add Lines 11(a)(iii), (b), (c), and (d))	359524.10	803320.96
12 TRANSFERS FROM OTHER AUTHORIZED COMMITTEES.....	0.00	0.00
13 LOANS		
(a) Made or Guaranteed by the Candidate	0.00	0.00
	0.00	0.00
(b) All Other Loans		
(c) TOTAL LOANS (add Lines 13(a) and (b))	0.00	0.00
14 OFFSETS TO OPERATING EXPENDITURES (Refunds, Rebates, etc.)	0.00	0.00
15 OTHER RECEIPTS (Dividends, Interest, etc.)	6272.06	16080.27
16 TOTAL RECEIPTS (add Lines 11(e), 12, 13(c), 14, and 15) (Carry Total to Line 24, page 4)	365796.16	821401.23

26044132441

26044132442

EXHIBIT H

**FEC
FORM 3****REPORT OF RECEIPTS
AND DISBURSEMENTS**

For An Authorized Committee

Office Use Only

1. NAME OF COMMITTEE (in full) **USE FEC MAILING LABEL OR TYPE OR PRINT** Example: If typing, type over the lines

Hastert for Congress Committee

ADDRESS (number and street)

P. O. Box 625, 15 E. Wilson St



Check if different than previously reported. (ACC)

P. O. Box 625, 15 E. Wilson St

Batavia

IL

60510

2. FEC IDENTIFICATION NUMBER

CITY

STATE

ZIP CODE

STATE DISTRICT

C00208090

3. IS THIS REPORT



NEW (N)

OR



AMENDED (A)

IL

14

4. TYPE OF REPORT (Choose One)

(a) Quarterly Reports:



April 15 Quarterly Report (Q1)



July 15 Quarterly Report (Q2)



October 15 Quarterly Report (Q3)



January 31 Year-End Report (YE)



July 31 Mid-Year Report (Non-election Year Only) (MY)



Termination Report (TER)

(b) 12-Day PRE-Election Report for the.



Primary (12P)



General (12G)



Runoff (12R)



Convention (12C)



Special (12S)

Election on

in the State of

(c) 30-Day POST-Election Report for the.



General (30G)



Runoff (30R)



Special (30S)

Election on

in the State of

5. Covering Period

10

19

2000

through

11

27

2001

I certify that I have examined this Report and to the best of my knowledge and belief it is true, correct and complete

Type or Print Name of Treasurer Dallas Ingemannson

Signature of Treasurer

Date

06

06

2001

NOTE Submission of false, erroneous, or incomplete information may subject the person signing this Report to the penalties of 2 U.S.C. 437g

Office
Use
Only**FEC FORM 3**
(Revised 9/2000)

26044132443

DETAILED SUMMARY PAGE of Receipts

FEC Form 3 (Revised 9/2000)

Page 3

Write or Type Committee Name
Header for Congress Committee

Report Covering the Period:

From

MM/DD/YYYY
10/19/2000

To:

MM/DD/YYYY
11/27/2000

I. RECEIPTS

COLUMN A
Total This Period

COLUMN B
Election Cycle-to-Date

11. CONTRIBUTIONS (other than loans) FROM:

(a) Individuals/Persons Other Than
Political Committees

(i) Itemized (use Schedule A).....

49840.00

(ii) Unitemized

7412.50

(iii) TOTAL of contributions

from individuals

57252.50

474858.00

(b) Political Party Committees.....

0.00

0.00

(c) Other Political Committees
(such as PACS)

97875.00

633112.96

(d) The Candidate

0.00

0.00

(e) TOTAL CONTRIBUTIONS

(other than loans)

(add Lines 11(a)(i), (b), (c), and (d))

155127.50

1107970.96

12. TRANSFERS FROM OTHER AUTHORIZED COMMITTEES.....

0.00

0.00

13. LOANS

(a) Made or Guaranteed by the
Candidate

0.00

0.00

(b) All Other Loans

0.00

0.00

(c) TOTAL LOANS

(add Lines 13(a) and (b))

0.00

0.00

14. OFFSETS TO OPERATING EXPENDITURES

(Refunds, Rebates, etc.)

0.00

0.00

15. OTHER RECEIPTS

(Dividends, Interest, etc.)

1858.29

21260.70

16. TOTAL RECEIPTS (add Lines 11(e), 12, 13(c), 14, and 15) (Carry Total to Line 24, page 4).....

156985.79

1128231.66

26044132444